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Christopher Bischof

University of Richmond, cbischof@richmond.edu

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“A Home for Poets”: The Liberal Curriculum in Victorian Britain’s Teachers’ Training Colleges

In the 1850s at St. Mark’s training college in Chelsea, London ten students regularly violated the nighttime “lights out” rule at the end of long, exhausting days. Desirous of increasing their culture and general knowledge, they gave over half an hour every evening before sleep to what they styled, after the working-class clubs of the same name, “a mutual improvement society” in which they took turns giving lectures on a wide range of topics.ⁱ From the perspective of many Victorian observers and historians today this anecdote is an anomaly, an aberration that carries little weight in telling the story of the training colleges in which the majority of teachers in Victorian Britain eventually came to receive an education. For them, training colleges were the sites of rote memorization and pedagogical learning. Though some educationalists called for a more liberal curriculum for teachers, according to this view, teachers’ education only began to emphasize expansive reading, original thinking, the cultivation of the individual, and general curiosity beginning in the 1890s with the rise of day training colleges affiliated with universities.ⁱⁱ However, these teachers were not alone: throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, teachers-in-training across Britain supplemented their already daunting workload by writing poetry, reading novels, discussing Shakespeare, and holding debates about pressing social and political questions.

In this article I explore student culture beyond the classroom to argue that there existed an informal liberal curriculum which embraced a general spirit of intellectualism and the pursuit of a wide range of knowledge dealing with the human condition and the state of society. I also offer a new reading of the formal curriculum at training colleges by examining the formal curriculum alongside student accounts of their experiences of it, student responses to assignments, commonly used textbooks, and educationalists’ discourses about teachers’ training.

While acknowledging that the formal curriculum emphasized rote memorization and was narrow, I argue that there was also a liberal side to it which students picked up on and which some educationalists emphasized in their work as inspectors, training college staff, and textbook authors.

What constituted a liberal curriculum changed over time. One way to define it that accounts for this change is as the set of subjects and practices which were believed at a particular time to make good citizens, give a solid grounding in the cultural touchstones, and hone critical thinking skills. The idea of the liberal curriculum emerged out of the humanist goal to make morally upright and dutiful citizens who did not merely acquire knowledge, but learned how to think, discern connections between ideas, and draw analytic conclusions. Classical languages and literature, mathematics, natural history, and a healthy helping of history and theology were the primary instruments by which the liberally educated subject was traditionally made in Britain.ⁱⁱⁱ Though the core goals of a liberal education remained much the same as in centuries past, the curriculum used to achieve it changed in the Victorian period. English literature, athletics, and more modern science became important parts of the formal curriculum at Oxbridge and the elite public schools, torchbearers for the liberal ideal, while history's role in making good citizens was called into question.^{iv}

Within the context of this article, a liberal curriculum is regarded as those subjects and modes of learning that emphasized the development of knowledge, ways of thinking, and character attributes which were not typically seen as directly relevant for teaching Victorian Britain's working- and lower-middle-class children. This working definition also includes goals which policymakers and educationalists did not yet believe to be necessary for elementary teachers, but which some progressive educationalists believed *should* be. Among the more

important of these goals were the ability to understand and explain intellectually the scientific processes at work in the operations of everyday life, the cultivation of imagination, and a capacity to reflect critically on broad social, cultural, and political developments.

I am not arguing that the curriculum in Victorian Britain's teachers' training college was exclusively liberal, but rather that there was a strong liberal side to it. As historians of education have shown, formal curricula often resulted from compromises between different interest groups and general currents of thought, and thus served social and pedagogic purposes in tension with one another.^v The contradictory elements of the curriculum in training colleges – part liberal, part useful – reflected a wider tension within Victorian Britain between a social conservatism which emphasized deference and limited upward mobility on the one hand, and a more radically meritocratic and democratic vision of society on the other.^{vi} Training college students tended to come from upper-working and lower-middle-class families, particularly the latter as the century wore on.^{vii} The majority of the pupils in the schools at which teachers-in-training would go on to work with were the children of the poor and working class. The compromise between a liberal and useful formal curriculum reflected the limits, but also the possibilities of education as a means of transcending class.^{viii} The informal curriculum, students' pursuit of liberal learning in their spare time, stemmed in part from dissatisfaction with the limited nature of the formal curriculum. In this article I advance a dialectic view of the formal/informal curriculum, arguing that the focus on useful information in the formal curriculum shaped the more liberal informal curriculum, which in turn may have contributed to the rise of a more liberal formal curriculum in the 1890s and beyond. I also contribute to scholarship which challenges the binary understanding of a useful/liberal curriculum, particularly

through my focus on praxis – on how teachers-in-training navigated their everyday lives and studies.^{ix}

This article is based on sources from educationalists working across Britain, some of the most commonly used textbooks at training colleges, and student-authored sources drawn primarily from Whitelands College for women in London, St. Mark's and St. John's colleges for men in London, and the coeducational Free Church Training College in Glasgow. Though Scotland had a long tradition of sending its parochial elementary teachers to university, the Committee of Council on Education Minutes of 1846 created regulations for the funding of teachers' training colleges which contributed to the rapid growth of a remarkably similar system of colleges in England, Wales, and Scotland alike.^x Uniquely, however, Scottish training colleges were coeducational and nonresidential. While I point out situations when these differences were important, on the whole educational discourses, the formal curriculum, and student culture were similar enough north and south of the Tweed that we can fairly discuss the presence of a liberal curriculum in "British" training colleges.

This article begins by briefly summarizing the structural development of teachers' training in Victorian Britain and recapitulating the debate among Victorian educationalists about the applicability of a liberal curriculum for elementary teachers. It then examines the liberal side of the formal curriculum which some progressive educationalists helped to foster. It concludes by exploring the student culture which nourished an informal liberal curriculum.

Policy Developments and Debates

Educational policy relating to teachers' training changed significantly between 1846 and 1902. The 1846 Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education created the pupil teacher

system, discussed in more detail below, and instituted a program of Queen's Scholarships for students at training colleges. These scholarships and several other grants to colleges contributed to a boom in training college construction, made it more common for upper-working and lower-middle-class young adults to attend, and secured for the state the right to inspect and thus influence colleges' curricula and policies. These minutes have generally been regarded as a major landmark in education policy, spurring the state's involvement in elementary education (begun with the first grants to elementary schools in 1833) and creating a teaching force that was increasingly better educated.^{xi} The Revised Code introduced in 1862 in England and Wales and rolled out incrementally in Scotland in the years that followed marked a major – but largely temporary – rupture in education policy. Created largely by Robert Lowe, the Revised Code instituted a system of payment-by-results in elementary schools with a focus on the 3 R's, reading, writing, and arithmetic, in a policy shift designed to shepherd fiscal resources and encourage concentration on more-or-less directly useful skills. The Revised Code also reduced funding for training colleges, including funding for “higher subjects” such as French, Latin, and advanced mathematics. The policies and attitudes of the Revised Code were mostly reversed in a gradual and piecemeal fashion in the years that followed.^{xii} Two significant, but little remarked upon changes came in 1866 when official policy acknowledged that state-funded education was to serve not just the working class but also the lower middle class, and in 1867, when examinations were once more broadened to include “higher subjects.”^{xiii} Much better known are the Education Act of 1870 in England and Wales and its 1872 counterpart in Scotland, which enabled the creation of school boards to provide universal elementary education. These acts created a huge demand for teachers and facilitated the creation of a national teachers' union which agitated for better pay, more classroom autonomy, and a broader, more intellectual

curriculum in both training colleges and elementary schools. State involvement in elementary education marched progressively forward in the last three decades of the century, mostly through the incremental introduction of changes in the Education Code. Despite this changing backdrop of education policy, teachers' training remained fairly stable by comparison from 1846 to 1902, though the early 1860s were a significant, if largely temporary step backward for training college funding and the support for a liberal curriculum.

Created in 1846, the pupil teaching system offered elementary school students a paid apprenticeship for five years beginning at age thirteen and culminating in the opportunity to win a scholarship to a training college.^{xiv} Pupil teaching was not the only route to a training college, but by the late 1850s, most training college students were former pupil teachers. Pupil teachers received several hours of private instruction from the head teacher of the school each day and spent the rest of the time assisting in teaching the younger pupils. From the 1870s onward in urban areas pupil teachers increasingly received their instruction in pupil teacher centres. These institutions quickly developed an emphasis on intellectualism and fostered extracurricular study and cultural self-improvement in much the same way training college did.^{xv} In practice, pupil teaching was the preserve of the upper-working and lower-middle classes – particularly the latter, as the century progressed. Prospective pupil teachers had to convince the head teacher, school managers, and state inspector of their respectability and their family had to sacrifice their potential to earn more money doing other work. Pupil teaching also entailed long, stressful days balancing teaching with study. The pages of *The Pupil Teacher*, a monthly periodical, were replete with paeans to intense intellectual labor and warnings that a life of teaching, including pupil teaching, “is *hard* work, and you must, if you look for pleasure, find it in work.”^{xvi} Though training colleges demanded much effort, their experience as pupil teachers led teachers-in-

training to regard their time at college as a respite from the often banal work of elementary teaching. One St. Mark's alumni reflected in an article in the college magazine that as a youth in Yorkshire he was "ever longing ... for a wider world," one which he found at St. Mark's.^{xvii} As Philip Gardner has shown, one of the paradoxical effects of the growth of elementary education in Victorian Britain was to render learning something to be undertaken only at a certain stage in life rather than a lifelong pursuit.^{xviii} For elementary teachers, their time at college was both their final and most unencumbered chance to learn.

Existing in the murky borderland between public and private, training colleges were founded from the early 1840s by private religious educational societies (particularly the Church of England's National Society). From 1846 onward, they received the majority of their operational expenses from the government. By the 1860s, more than fifty such colleges had been founded admitting over one thousand new students each year for the two-year course of study. Even at the nadir of the prospects for teaching as a career in the wake of the Revised Code (with the consequence that there were hundreds of unfilled spots in training colleges), there were still more than two thousand students in training colleges at any given time.^{xix} Teaching continued to offer intellectual stimulation and the prospect of fairly secure work. In return for its money, the government received the right to inspect colleges and to help to shape the curriculum. Until the last years of the nineteenth century these colleges were virtually the only means by which aspiring teachers could acquire a training, which personally benefitted teachers and was attractive to potential employers. In many areas across Britain trained teachers were believed to be more effective – or at least more prestigious – than merely teachers who had passed the state's certificate examination.^{xx} By 1883, 73.9% of male teachers and 73.6% of female teachers in Scottish elementary schools had training college experience.^{xxi} In England and Wales in 1886-7

about two-thirds of male teachers were trained while just under half of female teachers were trained.^{xxii} One important trend worth noting is that the proportion of male teachers to female teachers declined dramatically throughout the century, particularly in the wake of the Revised Code of 1862 which effectively reduced teachers' salaries, ended their prospect of a state pension, and created more bureaucratic regulation once on the job. Though the proportion of men to women in training colleges was always much closer than the proportion of men to women on the job, women constituted a growing proportion of training college students too.^{xxiii}

One of the most pressing questions facing Victorian educationalists was how to educate the aspiring teachers who attended these colleges. Should they be educated liberally by giving them knowledge and thinking skills beyond what appeared to be immediately necessary to teach their future pupils, or should they be confined to learning knowledge and skills that would be "useful" for their working- and lower-middle-class pupils? The Newcastle Commission, which was appointed by Parliament to investigate the state of popular education in Britain, distinguished between these two types of education in its 1861 report by describing a liberal education as preparing teachers-in-training for their future work "indirectly" through a study of subjects that "enlarg[ed]" and "strengthen[ed]" the mind, providing for its "general cultivation." A "useful" education, on the other hand, prepared them "directly" because it was a study of precisely what they would be teaching as well as how to teach it.^{xxiv} Proponents of a liberal education saw teachers as far more than purveyors of skill sets like reading, writing and arithmetic. Many educationalists expressed sentiments similar to Matthew Arnold, school inspector by day and poet by night, who believed in giving teachers a liberal education since the character of a teacher "cannot fail in the end to tell powerfully upon the civilization of the neighbourhood."^{xxv} In other words, liberally educated teachers were needed to civilize the poor

and working-class children who were increasingly being compared to Britain's imperial subjects and cast as uncivilized.^{xxvi} The managers of Borough Road College similarly declared their belief in the importance of culture to the training of elementary teachers: “[i]t is a leading object in the management of this institution to train up a race of teachers who shall not only elevate the office by the respectability of their attainments, but adorn it by the fervor of their poetry.”^{xxvii}

For some educationalists and thinkers, a liberal and a useful curriculum were complementary rather than antithetical. The ideas of Henry Moseley, inspector of teachers training colleges in the 1840s and 1850s, were particularly influential. He designed the “Government syllabus” which training colleges had to follow for most of the second half of the century. As the Cross Commission summarized his syllabus – which they believed “must be preserved” – it divided subjects into two classes, “one intended to form the minds of the students, the other intended to give practical skill in the discharge of their duties as teachers.”^{xxviii} He held that the main role of teachers was to educate pupils in reading, writing, and other useful knowledge. However, he also believed in the importance of a liberal curriculum, arguing that teachers should not only give their students knowledge and useful skills, but change the way they looked at their everyday work. Moseley believed that teachers should explain to pupils the moral, economic, and scientific principles behind the “common operations of domestic life” such that as grown men and women they would “take pleasure in studying, criticising, and improving” those everyday activities, be it draining a field, fixing a machine, or running a shop.^{xxix} This call to intellectualize the quotidian drew on the tradition of Plato as it had been revived by the art critic and cultural thinker John Ruskin, himself a patron of Whitelands training college.^{xxx} In the wake of the Revised Code of 1862, which created a system of penalties and incentives designed to get teachers to focus on teaching their pupil the “3 Rs,” Derwent Coleridge, principal of the

Anglican St. Mark's College, published his pamphlet "The Teachers of the People." In it he defended the practice of giving teachers the most culture possible during their time at college.^{xxxii}

The Rev. Robinson, principal of a training college in Yorkshire, was more ambivalent about imparting culture to teachers-in-training. In testimony to the Newcastle Commission, Robinson criticized trained teachers for being "too apt to forget that they owe the culture they have to the public provision made for them."^{xxxii} However, even this much quoted criticism was directed at students' supposed conceit and seems to implicitly concede that teachers do need to be provided with "culture" during their education.

The Formal Curriculum: Learning in the Classroom, Laboratory, and Field

The formal curriculum at training colleges often combined liberal and "useful" knowledge, critical thinking about the way in which peoples and places throughout the world were connected and rote memorization. Geography as a subject exemplifies this intertwinement. It demanded memorization of the names, locations, and many specific details about topographical features while also encouraging students to reflect on global economic connections, the reasons for racial differences, and conditions in the empire. At the colleges whose records I have examined, geography often vied for the top spot in the timetable for an academic subject, surpassing history, literature and language, and pedagogy – "methods and school management," as it was known. The annual lists of required texts at Whitelands also consistently listed more books for geography than for any other subject.^{xxxiii}

Charles Dickens mocked the mechanistic memorization he felt geography lessons to demand when he described the knowledge of the teacher M'Choakumchild in *Hard Times*: "He knew all about all the Water Sheds of all the world (whatever they are) ... and all the names of

all the rivers and mountains, and all the productions, manners, and customs of all the countries, and all their boundaries and bearings on the two-and-thirty points of the compass.”^{xxxiv}

Admittedly, geography as a training college and elementary school subject did require students to memorize topography, county and country names, trivia about rivers, and the like, just as stereotypes about Victorian education would have it. However, it also demanded that students think critically and consider far more than physical features – indeed, even Dickens’s

M’Choakumchild learned “all the productions, manners, and customs of all the countries” in addition to his memorization of topography. At Borough Road the managers reported that, “A good deal of attention has been given to geography. It is attempted to make this an *inductive study*; certain conditions are given, from which certain consequences are to be inferred.”^{xxxv} An 1853 examination at Whitelands in “physical geography,” asked students to “Compare the physical geography of Africa with that of India, shewing the points of resemblance and of contrast, with the consequences as regards the inhabitants.”^{xxxvi} Lectures on “Mathematical and Physical Geography” used trigonometry to teach students about how and why globes and maps distorted images and also included discussions on such matters as the “effects of indented coasts on inhabitants,” as the lecture outline put it. This exploration of the effect of the landscape on the population that lived there was a key feature of Victorian geography lessons. It also tested students’ knowledge of the northern bias of maps by asking “What is meant by the ‘projection’ of a map? Shew the faults of Mercator’s, with the equidistant ‘projections.’”^{xxxvii} Such an inductive approach to geography purveyed ethnographic knowledge and may even have given students a foundation from which they could puncture self-satisfied world views. Perhaps Britain, far smaller compared to its colonies than maps indicated, owed its greatness to its climate and natural resources, which in turn made great its economy and national culture.

Textbooks used at Whitelands and other colleges extolled importance of geography as a subject that would allow both teachers-in-training and their future pupils to imagine and grasp in their minds the world and its many connections, to move mentally between the known and the great unknown. W. Taylor's popular *How to Prepare Notes of Lessons: A Manual of Instruction and Models for Pupil Teachers and Students in Training Colleges* reminded students that geography was important for working-class children: "There is no school subject which demands, or will repay, more careful teaching than geography ... The child whose knowledge of the world is confined to his own village, and the fields around it, has to be instructed in the varied features of the land and water, and in the varied phenomena of the earth and sea and sky." According to Taylor, knowledge of the world in all its diversity was the end goal – teaching about the immediate area was a mere step along the path to the true task: learning how to conceptualize and imagine distant places. He recommended that "The teacher should begin with the well-known features of the child's own neighbourhood. If these are observed and understood, they will serve as the best means of aiding the formation of clear and accurate conceptions of features which the pupil cannot visit."^{xxxviii} Students at Whitelands were encouraged to teach this way when they gave practice lessons observed by the college staff. The instructor who observed Frances Jordan when she gave a lesson on the Suez Canal recorded some initial praise in Jordan's practice lesson log: "B.B. [blackboard] fairly well used – good pictures." However, she chastised Jordan for not drawing a regional map on the board showing the Isthmus of Suez in a wider context, the same way a local river might be shown in the context of the county. It was further suggested that she "might have taken an imaginary journey" to the Suez Canal rather than merely listing off facts.^{xxxix} The pedagogy underlying this method of teaching geography seems designed to cultivate pupils' imagination, to enable and encourage

them as British citizens literally to picture their nation and its empire and thereby forge a connection between its distant reaches and those places at home that they knew and loved so well. There was also another, more practical dimension to this education in citizenship. It was important for teachers to enable their pupils to understand Britain's colonies and trade partners throughout the world, another training college school textbook published in 1860 emphasized, since "it is to the immense population of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain, that a considerable share of her commerce and wealth, and no mean portion of her power and prosperity are due." Thus all Britons must know the "men of every hue – black, brown, yellow, and copper-coloured, as well as white" professing "almost every form of religion – Christian, Jewish, Mohammedan, Hindoo, and Pagan" who made up Britain's "hundreds of millions of motley subjects."^{xl} On the one hand, this geographic knowledge can be understood as a straightforward and almost propagandistic celebration of the greatness of the British empire. On the other hand, it emphasized the acquisition and future purveyance of a worldview that highlighted the interdependence of and connections between Britain and its colonies as well as the necessity of learning about the peoples of the British empire.

Though a subject in its own right which included the study of places, people, and customs, geography also served in Victorian training colleges as a sort of curricular catch-all, an umbrella which encompassed other subjects not explicitly part of the formal curriculum. For instance, it included the study of economics, particularly the way in which local economies or even the manufacturing of a specific product depended upon trade relations with places far away. In a geography essay on the history of the Huntley and Palmers Biscuit Factory, Whitelands student E.C. Boyles located biscuit production simultaneously in the local, imperial, and global economies, noting that "as soon as the firm assumed a world-wide character" it expanded its

factory and “the employing of more work people was needed” in Reading, Berkshire while more raw materials were needed from the Empire. Boyles went on to describe the opening of a second factory on the outskirts of Paris not as a means of siphoning jobs to France, but as a complement to the Reading factory that helped it to maintain its reputation by ensuring the biscuits sold on the Continent were the freshest possible. She noted that a variety of grades of sugar from different parts of the Empire were used while “cocoanuts [sic] are bought in large quantities from Ceylon” and “fruit and butter come from Australia.” The only non-imperial product, she noted with a slight hint of pride that the Empire supplied almost everything required for biscuit baking, was “a special American flour used for certain dry biscuits” that made up 7% of the total flour mixture.^{xli} Bernard Porter has recently challenged the idea that the Victorian working classes were aware of everyday objects’ imperial connections, pointing specifically to elementary schools as devoid of any lessons on the matter.^{xlii} However, by the time Victoria came to the throne “object lessons” – originally a Pestalozzian pedagogic technique – were in common use in Britain, particularly in tandem with geography lessons.^{xliii} Object lessons took an everyday item like “biscuits” and got students to describe it, classify it, and discuss its production. Edibles were popular since students often had first hand experience with them and they were indeed thoroughly enmeshed in imperial and global economic and cultural networks. According to Katherine Mayo, author of many sample object lessons and a contemporary champion of them, their point was:

to exercise the children in arranging and classifying objects; thus developing a higher faculty than that of simply observing their qualities. The complex operation of connecting things by their points of resemblance, and at the same time of distinguishing them individually by their points of dissimilarity, is one of the higher exercises of our reason.^{xliv}

As Parna Sengupta argues, in practice object lessons taught students “that they belonged to a larger imperial world, connected through circuits of production and consumption.”^{xliv} This emphasis on the imperial origin of commodities was paramount in Britain, supplanting Pestalozzi’s original focus on the link between objects and nature.^{xlvi} Boyles’ essay suggests that mastery of this British world view with its emphasis on commodities and empire began in training colleges and later provided the basis of object lessons. Geography lessons made it possible for teachers-in-training, and very likely their future students, to see the food they ate and factories which employed so many Britons in a new, contextualized and connected way.

From the outset, science featured centrally in the curriculum at both men’s and women’s colleges as a means of promoting a new, more inquisitive way of viewing the world among teachers-in-training and their future students. The scientific education in most colleges did not so much impart technical skills or prepare teachers to train up factory workers as to teach them how to think. J. Wooder, who attended St. Mark’s in the 1840s, found that science classes there stimulated the imagination. The goal was for students to work out for themselves the natural laws and mechanical inventions by which machines operated. Though he spent hours upon hours each week in the laboratory, Wooder recalled that St. Mark’s “was more like a home for poets than a chemical workshop.”^{xlvii} Even the scientific curriculum was designed to stimulate the imagination and promote independent discovery of the processes at work rather than their mere memorization.

Insofar as the scientific education was designed to enable teachers-in-training to equip their future students for the industrial workforce, the goal was to make thinking tinkerers rather than machine-minding drones. James Kay, who founded Battersea training college before going on to become one of Victorian Britain’s most important educational policy makers as the

secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, connected the prosperity and progress of the nation to training teachers to train tinkerers in an early report on Battersea:

The steam-engines which drain our coal-fields and mineral veins and beds, which whirl along every railroad, which toil on the surface of every river, and issue from every estuary, are committed to the charge of men of some practical skill, but of mean education. ... Our supremacy at sea, and our manufacturing and commercial prosperity (inseparable elements) depend on the successful progress of those arts by which our present position has been attained. ... On this account we have deemed inseparable from the education of a schoolmaster a knowledge of the *elements of mechanics* and of the laws of heat, sufficient to enable him to explain the structure of the various kinds of steam-engines in use in this country. ... Knowledge and national prosperity are here in strict alliance.^{xlvi}

“Practical skill” is not enough – laborers (and thus their teachers) must also have something better than a “mean education” so that they might understand how machinery works. Their task is not merely to operate it, but to contribute to its “successful progress.” This remained a concern throughout the century – indeed, as Germany and America industrialized, the need for tinkerers increased. Margaret Forsyth, who attended the Church of Scotland Training College in Glasgow in the 1890s, recorded in her science notebook that “we are losing ground partly because countries that were later than we in developing their resources are now pushing ahead partly because of our lack of attention to technical education.”^{xli} Such a conclusion, probably suggested or stated by a staff member in a lecture but chosen by Forsyth as important enough to record, linked technical education, economic development, and the nation.

Scientific learning was considered as a source of pleasure for workers themselves as well as an economic benefit for the nation. In a speech given at the opening of Edgehill Training College for women in 1885, J.H. Fitch, the Chief Inspector of Schools, advocated giving teachers a scientific education so that they could educate their future pupils in the concepts behind the work they did:

it is a shame for a workman to be handling every day substances of whose character and composition he knows nothing, and to be using in his business natural forces the laws and operation of which he has never taken the trouble to investigate. There is a form of science and philosophy underlying every trade, and the understanding of it makes all the difference between the skilled and unskilled workman. ... You have to consider the worker as well as the work. You want the artisan to have some joy and delight in his labour ... And if this is true of the artisan, it is true in a yet higher degree of the teacher.¹

Reminiscent of Ruskin's ideas, Fitch's justification of scientific education considers not just the efficiency of workers, but their happiness.^{li} Moreover, Fitch seems to be subtly advocating that teachers-in-training imbibe and then spread a general spirit of inquisitiveness, a desire to look beneath the surface, beyond the outcome to see the process itself.

The students at Glasgow Free Church Training College were passionate about science on their own account, as the pride they took in the research of John Kerr demonstrates. Kerr, hired by the college in 1857, became a living legend during his more than forty years at the college. Kerr had trained under Lord Kelvin at the University of Glasgow and upon arrival at the college turned a large part of the basement into a laboratory where he both gave students a chance to learn through experimentation and pursued his own aggressive research agenda. In 1890, while still a full-time staff member at the college, he was named a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1892 Lord Kelvin declared Kerr "one of the most distinguished scientific investigators in the whole world."^{lii} Nearly 70 by then and rather oblivious to what happened in his classroom, an anonymous student evaluated him in the manuscript student magazine. This student did not believe Kerr to be good at commanding attention in the classroom: "no one knows better how to make a difficult point perfectly clear, but his classes do not attend to him, so his pearls are cast, so to speak, before – well, perhaps it is better to leave the metaphor incomplete." Yet, he remained a heroic figure for his scientific passion and accomplishments. "His heart is in the pursuit of science," the evaluation went on approvingly, even proudly, "and his spare hours have

already been fruitful in results of the very highest value.”^{liii} Kerr embodied the spirit of the science taught at training colleges, a science that was passionate and innovative.

The science and geography curriculum at Whitelands cultivated familiarity with factories as well. A section of E.C. Boyles’ essay on biscuit production subtitled “The Question of the Factory” demonstrates her knowledge of the ideal factory, noting as she does that “every room in the factory is large and well-ventilated” while “rows and rows of windows prevent the factory from being dark and gloomy.” She reiterated that “The spaciousness of the factory allows the workpeople ample room in which to work. Not only do these conditions add to the comfort of the employees, but they also ensure that there is nothing unhygienic in the manufacture of the biscuits.” Boyles takes typical Victorian criticisms against factories as an implicit point of reference, thus demonstrating at a bare minimum her understanding of them, if not her general agreement with them since the Huntley and Palmers’ Factory is positioned – for the purposes of the essay – as an exception. Whitelands even organized occasional field trips to factories to observe science-in-action. One young woman at Whitelands recorded such an outing in a poem titled “Science – After the newest fashion.” Following a walk to the railroad station, a short train journey, and another walk – all, of course, filled with illicit socializing with each other and young gentlemen passersby while the staff members’ backs were turned – the students arrived at a factory which the author curiously describes as a “palace.” She sarcastically recorded their anxiety when they saw the complex machinery whose workings they would need to master: “For our weak minds are crowded up / With Joshua & with Luke / We thought of all we had to learn / And the[n] Oh!!! there we shook.” But they were confident in their abilities to grasp the underlying workings of the machine: “We did not shake because we feared / We could not understand / But all those great machines did buuuup [sic] / When working close at hand.” As

the young women wandered the factory floor, they found themselves observed by the workers: “We wandered up, we wandered down / We looked at every sight / And all the men were watching us / To see our great delight.”^{liv} Both the pedagogy – induction and observation, not rote memorization – as well as the social license – working men seemingly mixing with, or at least observing the young women – suggest that colleges, including women’s colleges, sometimes cultivated useful knowledge using liberal pedagogical methods. Moreover, though colleges sought to isolate their students from the world for the sake of moral training, the curricular imperative of cultivating familiarity with the real world seems here to trump the moral ideal of sequestered isolation.^{lv}

As part of the formal curriculum outside of the classroom and study hall, colleges targeted the bodies of their students for training to encourage morality, physical fitness, and humility. For the men, this typically meant farming and gardening for several hours a week; women typically gardened, but did not farm. St. Mark’s sat on eleven acres of enclosed land, most of which was given over to food gardens, farmland, and pleasure gardens. In the college’s early years, students engaged in “industrial occupations” for upwards of four hours a day, the majority of which was planting, harvesting, plowing, pruning, fertilizing, watering, and anything else the crops and plants needed. This work was usually undertaken with very basic tools to make it as laborious as possible. Though the amount of time given over to horticulture decreased later in the century, it nonetheless continued to be the most important “industrial occupation,” as it and other forms of work students performed with their hands were commonly termed, and an important part of the overall curriculum.^{lvi}

Derwent Coleridge, principal of St. Mark’s, called the money saved through growing food “the least consideration” in estimating the value of horticulture. Rather, he believed that

“[i]t is almost the only mode in which the hours not occupied in study could be profitably and innocently passed by a promiscuous assemblage of youths.”^{lvii} In the wake of Romanticism, field labor had shed much of its earlier association with sexual promiscuity and acquired an association with sexual purity which Coleridge and other training college principals may have been attempting to evoke.^{lviii} Moreover, working the field exhausted the young men’s bodies and kept them out in the open where they could be easily observed. HMI of training colleges Henry Moseley supported field labor at male colleges for similar reasons, noting approvingly of Chester Diocesan Training College that “inactivity being banished from the Institution, a thousand evils engendered by it are held in abeyance. When first admitted, [students] do not understand why bodily labour is required of them, and are desirous of devoting all their time to reading; they soon, however, acquiesce, and take a pleasure in it.” The triumph of students’ acquiescence was twofold: first, they replaced the personally and economically sapping pleasure afforded by “a thousand evils” with the productive pleasure of bodily labor in the fields; second, they rendered docile their bodies, and through their bodies their souls, indicating a readiness to be re-formed according to the values set forth by the college authorities. Seemingly field labor was only about social and sexual control.

However, Coleridge had one further justification for the regimen of field labor at St. Mark’s: “it will make [the teacher] practically acquainted with the occupations of those whom he has to instruct, and thus procure him an additional title to their confidence when he comes to act among them, not merely as their teacher, but as their adviser and friend.” Working within the framework set forth by Adam Smith in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Coleridge advocated giving teachers-in-training a bodily acquaintance with field labor to facilitate teachers’ sympathetic understanding of laborers’ work and thus their worldview. HMI Moseley, in his

report on Chester College, agreed, noting with approval that on account of field work's inclusion in the curriculum "The scene of [the laborer's] daily toil is to be familiar to [the teacher]," which would in turn allow the teacher "to reawaken in the bosom of the laboring man those natural sympathies which seem – under the influence of the manufacturing system – to be fast dying away."^{lix} The bodily understanding of labor which teachers-in-training acquired through their own field work was to help bridge the gap between high and low culture, intellectual and physical labor. That it was believed necessary is a testament to the degree to which contemporaries thought the training college curriculum cultivated intellectualism and culture and thus had to be balanced out.

The Informal Curriculum: Self Study, Student Groups, and College Patrons

Alongside the formal curriculum existed an equally important informal curriculum created at the intersection of student interest and the opportunities provided by college managers and patrons. Libraries and small "museums" provided for by college managers allowed students to pursue in their spare time a scheme of self-improvement or simply a form of leisure that kept them out of trouble. The library catalogue for the Church of Scotland Training College in Glasgow from about 1880 survives, offering a window into the works that students could consult for study or pleasure. Totalling several hundred volumes in all, the library had a wide assortment of fiction, religious and educational books, and travel narratives and guides. The travel literature represented most of the world, from Baedeler's *Switzerland* and Catlow, Agnes, and Maria's *Sketching Rambles in the Alps and Apennines* to Chaillee's *Adventures in Equatorial Africa* and *The Times' Special Correspondence from China for the year 1858*.^{lx} "Museums," cabinets of curiosities in the Enlightenment tradition, were also common. The Glasgow Free Church

Training College, for instance, had a small museum filled with scientific specimens while Whitelands' museum was made up of several cabinets, including one filled with curiosities from Jamaica sent back by a graduate who had gone on to work there.^{lxi} Frances Widdowson's interviews with late-Victorian training college graduates revealed that they felt a sense of intellectual liberation upon arrival at college.^{lxii} Certainly that was the case for John Faunthorpe, who as a pupil teacher had acquired non-textbook reading on loan from a local school manager one book at a time. In short order he blazed through those few books the manager had deemed acceptable for an easily-influenced young man and had to await college for more reading, reading that included fiction and travel narratives which the overbearing school manager would probably have forbidden (Faunthorpe never names the books the manager lent him).^{lxiii} Perhaps the sense of liberation that Widdowson found among training college graduates owes in part, as it did with Faunthorpe, to the presence of a library and college museum which students could peruse during their leisure time. These simple features, taken for granted at elite educational institutions, would indeed have been liberating, almost radical for the majority of students, who came from homes with few books.

Many students also joined extracurricular intellectual societies, which they used to supplement the formal curriculum with more of the liberal subjects which they craved. Literary associations were particularly widespread and usually centered around reading and discussing classic works of drama and fiction – Shakespeare, more than anything else. College magazines, featuring articles by alumni and current students, contained accounts of literary discussions and discourses by individual authors on literary subjects. These magazines seem to have begun in manuscript form in the 1860s and by the 1870s many colleges published magazines once a month. They featured accounts of training college sporting competitions, but also original poetry

and such articles as “Punning,” which explored how this literary art was cultivated in the pages of the *Tatler*, and another article on how Dryden’s political and religious sensibilities influenced his.^{lxiv} Literary organizations also commonly featured philosophical debates. For instance, the Literary Association at the Church of Scotland College in Glasgow had “Hat Night” debates during which they wrote then drew topics from a hat and spoke on them. Topics for one Hat Night included “love,” “Socialism,” “the cause of the Boer War,” and “Is the present great output of literature an advantage from a literary point of view?”^{lxv} Graduates who went on to staff colonial training colleges instituted literary associations there as well. One alumnus of St. Mark’s wrote in 1891 to his alma mater’s alumni magazine to inform them that the association he had helped to form in Madras was celebrating its thirteenth anniversary.^{lxvi} There were also even less formal intellectual societies, like the “mutual improvement society” mentioned at the beginning of this article formed by ten students at St. Mark’s in the 1850s who took turns giving lectures on topics they knew well.^{lxvii}

Philosophical debates broke out and revelations occurred more or less spontaneously at times. Surreptitiously learning the score achieved by a woman student at the coeducational Free Church College on an exam startled John Adams out of his patriarchal complacency: “I shall never forget my indignant surprise in finding after the session had been three weeks begun that in a physiological test-paper a certain Miss Gray obtained higher marks than I did. On that day occurred my conversion to the doctrine of Women’s Suffrage, to which (with a brief wobbly period during the ‘Suffragist’ follies) I have remained steadfast ever since.”^{lxviii} Less seriously, “Alphaeus” recounted in lyrical format how, desperate to avoid studying for an exam, “Thomas junior shows fight / And starts discussing ‘Women’s Right!’ / He took their side, you may be sure - / Aught other thing they’d scarce endure - / And gallantly decides that they / Should have a

vote – as well they may, / But only while they still retain, / As Tommy said, their maiden name.”

This lyrical rendering of a debate was itself an example of students’ use of their spare time to engage in creative, self-reflective pursuits. Another group squared off in a debate between Liberals and Conservatives which, though the Free Church College was a Liberal stronghold, the Conservatives won. Ideological debates were evidently so commonplace that a student-authored parody of the end-of-year exam contained the question “State your qualifications for criticising Herbert Spencer, and proceed to criticise him. If you have nothing to put in answer to the first part of the question, be all the more voluminous and severe in the second part.”^{lxix} This joke would only have worked if the student culture held up having social knowledge and making judgments about society as a virtue. Even quite recent studies of training colleges have portrayed them as disciplinary institutions that inculcated conformist values and kept the outside world at arms length.^{lxx} While this might have been the goal in theory, in practice students chaffed against the disciplinary tendencies of college and constructed an informal curriculum that satisfied their needs and desires in much the same way that throughout the early- and mid-Victorian period the working class patronized dames’ schools which catered to their needs and wants.^{lxxi} An education system, we must remember, was not simply imposed from above and unquestioningly accepted, but negotiated.

College libraries were stocked with newspapers, which students treated both as a source of information and as a subject unto themselves in the pages of “The Glasgow Free Church Training College Literary Society Magazine,” a manuscript periodical circulated privately among students. “When the historian of the future comes to look with dispassionate eye on the forces at work on society during the present century,” a lengthy student article on “Daily Journalism in Scotland” in the magazine began, “he [sic] must attribute to the daily newspaper a

vast power of influencing the history of the country and the world.” Recognizing that newspapers did not merely report, but influenced, students moved beyond passive consumption of the news to critically examining the merits, problems, and biases of each paper. The authors praised *The Glasgow Herald* for having its own correspondents in America and the Continent, but believed it was to some extent the mouthpiece of the industrial interests of western Scotland. It did, however, have “a contemptuous reference to the city of Edinburgh” in most issues, which was a plus. They faulted *The Scotsman* for its prejudice against the Free Church and its editorials on temperance, religion, and the Irish question, which the students believed to be “anything but representative of the political opinions of the people amongst whom they circulate.”^{lxxii} Far from sequestered, politically innocent, and prone to merely memorize information, college students scrutinized the lenses by which they saw the wider world.

Many colleges had well-heeled patrons whose personal interests and ideological beliefs led them to try to influence the general ethos through gift giving, prize competitions, and the introduction of customs. Such patronage constituted an important and heretofore essentially unstudied part of the informal curriculum at Victorian teachers’ training colleges. At Whitelands a dense network of educationalists, cultural thinkers, and ladies of the *noblesse oblige* tradition connected themselves to the college in an effort to mold the teachers of Britain’s next generation. Foremost among these was John Ruskin, whose connection to the college stemmed from a public mission to promote social reform through aestheticism and the revival of older forms of social relations. According to Ruskin’s wildly popular tract on gender ideology, *The Sesames and the Lilies*, young women should be raised up in a sheltered garden before going out into the world to cultivate morality of the sort in which they had been raised.^{lxxiii} In Ruskin’s work, personal and societal morality depended on the physical beauty of one’s environment, the literature one read,

the things one made, and indeed one's clothing and person. In that spirit, he had a cabinet specially made for the college and filled with copies and engravings of 48 paintings by J.M.W. Turner; the young women could sketch or paint their own copies for personal fulfillment or the work on their "drawing," a government-examined elective subject. He also seems to have encouraged the student and staff campaign to beautify the college building, which began in the early 1880s with the installation in the Chapel of a dozen stained-glass windows filled with medieval scenes made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, the noted Pre-Raphaelite artist.^{lxxiv}

Ruskin also first suggested to Faunthorpe that the college might put on a May Day festival every year, to which the staff and students eagerly agreed. When Faunthorpe wrote Ruskin to tell him that they would hold a May Day, Ruskin declared himself "delighted by your concession to my romantic fancies."^{lxxv} May Day at Whitelands was, in line with the wider tradition, a celebration of aestheticism that Ruskin believed had, lamentably, "pretty well passed away from the earth."^{lxxvi} The young women decorated the college, particularly with flowers, and dressed up themselves. Each year they donned white gowns, adorned their hair with garlands, and paraded about in front of an audience. They elected the most beautiful among themselves – morally and physically – May Queen. The May Queen then handed out a host of prizes, including the complete works of Ruskin, most of which Ruskin himself donated for the purpose each year. May Day and other revived holidays, such as the Harvest Festival held each Fall, also featured a "beautiful service" in the flower-filled chapel, for which the women sang such hymns as "All things bright and beautiful."^{lxxvii}

The rediscovery and recasting of Mayday into something pure, organic, and pre-industrial occurred at the end of a more than century-long assault on popular leisure and customs which were cast as immoral, unproductive, and irreligious. May Day was recast at Whitelands as

something pure and socially cohesive, but even there it never shed its renown as the most sexually active day of the year nor its association with social role reversal.^{lxxviii} Late in the day Whitelanders changed from simple white gowns into costumes, often cross dressing in the process. In the very early twentieth century, and probably in the nineteenth century as well, these costumes included: kings and court jesters, pirates, Robin Hood and his band, nuns, nurses, pistol-wielding Georgian gentlemen, and medieval pilgrims and warriors.^{lxxix} In handing out the works of Ruskin they also transgressed the limits he had set for them. Ruskin donated all his numerous works except *Seven Lamps* and *Fors Clavigera* for distribution on May Day. The former work he did not donate because “the supply is limited,” but the latter he declared was “not meant for girls.”^{lxxx} However, Faunthorpe and the young women made it a point to acquire both works and to distribute them every May Day. *Fors Clavigera*, three volumes of letters to working men, was a bold work that encouraged readers to reimagine society for themselves while demanding that they follow Ruskin’s dense web of learned allusions and leaps of logic. In it, Ruskin harshly condemned society as it existed now, castigating its politics, morality, and economic relations.^{lxxxi} A work unbecoming his May Queens, Ruskin thought, they tried it on for size and found it to their liking. As part of the informal curriculum, May Day was partly what Ruskin intended it to be – the literal enactment of his ideal of femininity, a celebration of aestheticism, and a link to an older form of social relations – but the students at Whitelands also reclaimed the day by imagining themselves into the role of a wide cast of characters and acquiring *Fors Clavigera* for themselves.

Whitelands patrons included the era’s most famous heiress, Angela Burdett-Coutts, who had inherited the Coutts banking fortune worth about three million pounds. Close friends with Charles Dickens, the pair collaborated on numerous philanthropic works in the 1850s. They

particularly concerned themselves with the linked problems of poverty, immorality, and household mismanagement – dirty houses and bodies, gaudy and impractical clothes, and uneconomical cooking. They invested huge amounts of time, energy, and money into projects such as building four blocks of five-story model housing projects at Columbia Square, literally inventing a prototype coal-powered clothes dryer for Florence Nightingale’s hospitals in the Crimea, and designing the regimen at Urania Cottage for the rehabilitation of fallen women. Proud of what she accomplished but quick to recognize that she had hardly made a dent in Britain’s social problems, Burdett-Coutts became increasingly convinced that social problems had to be addressed early in the lives of the poor through elementary education. This realization led her to become involved in teachers’ training at Whitelands.^{lxxxii}

At Whitelands she worked to promote attention to “*Common Things*,” as she titled the short book in which she summarized her project (Dickens had suggested the more informative title “Good Housekeeping”).^{lxxxiii} She gave addresses to the students on hygiene, cookery, laundry, dress, and, above all, needlework, an important way to save money and pass time innocently. Dickens expressed his approval when she reported to him her advocacy of needlework both by preaching its virtues among the students and in lobbying educationalists to impress upon them its importance:

I thoroughly agree in that interesting part of your note which refers to the immense uses, direct and indirect, of needlework. Also as to the great difficulty of getting many men to understand them. And I think [James Kay-]Shuttleworth and the like would have gone on to the crack of doom, melting down all the thimbles in Great Britain and Ireland, and making medals of them to be given for a knowledge of Watersheds and Pre-Adamite vegetation (both immensely comfortable to a labouring man with a large family and small income) if it hadn’t been for you.^{lxxxiv}

When it came to cleaning, cooking, and laundering, she stressed simplicity and thoroughness. In this she was joined by Marianne Thornton, mother of E.M. Forster, who also took an active role

promoting the teaching of domestic economy at the college. This emphasis on domestically useful skills was part of a wider campaign to educate female teachers-in-training, one that included several hours of needlework time each week in the formal curriculum as well. As Jane McDermid has shown, female educators and their pupils once on the job often resented this distraction from what they regarded as the real learning.^{lxxxv} However, at Whitelands, at least, the teachers-in-training seem to have performed their domesticity, at least for Dickens and Burdett-Coutts.

The issue of dress was complicated. Burdett-Coutts advocated plain, practical dress for the young women at Whitelands and their future pupils. In addition to lecturing students, she sponsored an essay competition in which they discoursed on the benefits of simple clothing. Dickens, whom she consulted about the project and whose help she enlisted to judge the essay competition, challenged her demonization of color and small flourishes in a letter, advocating judiciously giving into fashion as a means of innocent enjoyment for women:

I constantly notice a love of color and brightness, to be a portion of a generous and fine nature. I feel sure that it is often an innocent part of a capacity for enjoyment and appreciation, and general adornment of everything, which makes a buoyant, hopeful, genial character. I say most gravely that I do NOT know what I may take away from the good influences of a poor man's home, if I strike this natural common thing out of the girl's heart who is going to be his wife. ... It is like the use of strong drinks of the use of strong anything. The evil is in the abuse, and not in the use.

Dickens further believed that Whitelands students were disingenuous in their essays. "I can't help saying that I don't agree with you in your approval of the little essays about Dress. I think them not natural – overdone – full of a conventional sort of surface morality – disagreeably like one another – and, in short, just as affected as they claim to be unaffected." Under mild pressure from Dickens, Burdett-Coutts admitted that she was something of a hypocrite when it came to dress, reveling as she did both in "womanly vanity" and her ability to charm others through

colorful and fine clothing.^{lxxxvi} Seemingly a strong proponent of scrupulously simple clothing and housekeeping, Burdett-Coutts' advocacy, like students' reception, was partly genuine, partly performance. And yet when Dickens pointed this out, it gave him and Burdett-Coutts only the briefest moment's pause; they continued their work at the college just as before. The Whitlands girls, for their part, continued to go through the motions of their performance in the essay competition, perhaps eager for the small prizes or the help which winning such a competition might be in securing a better first job. At least in part, training colleges can be understood as spaces of mutual performance. As with all performances, this one required the student-performers to think carefully about their audience and then craft a show suited to them. Even praising modest clothing and simple, wholesome cooking became something more than merely imbibing then reproducing useful knowledge.

Conclusion

Largely indicted by contemporaries and historians for its emphasis on memorization and mechanistic learning, the training college curriculum takes on a different appearance when viewed in practice rather than in theory and when the informal curriculum is considered alongside the formal curriculum.^{lxxxvii} Useful knowledge about things like factories, geography, and basic science was sometimes presented to students in a way that emphasized a deep and complex understanding of the underlying scientific, economic, political, and moral principles. Even the several hours a day which college students spent gardening and farming contained moral and social lessons designed to allow teachers-in-training to understand the worldview of agricultural laborers. Liberal and useful knowledge were, then, deeply intertwined. Similarly, colleges offered many opportunities for self-study in the form of extracurricular intellectual

societies, reading clubs, or even breaks to read in the college library. The very act of providing space for autodidacticism and its tacit encouragement – for instance, providing well-stocked libraries and the use of a room for intellectual society meetings – reflected training colleges’ valorization of rational leisure and independent thinking.^{lxxxviii} College authorities and patrons also sought to purvey relatively traditional and conservative ideas about gender and the social order through donations to the college, the encouragement of festivities like May Day, and the sponsorship of contests such as the “Common Things” essays. Yet, here too students took advantage of the opportunities and space afforded them to play with and subvert the explicitly sanctioned values. In both its formal and informal manifestations, the curriculum at Victorian training colleges constituted a compromise.

The liberal side of the curriculum in training colleges gained more widespread and explicit acceptance and traction over time, just as it did for the working and lower-middle classes more generally.^{lxxxix} In the 1890s it became common for teachers to attend secondary school rather than work as pupil teachers. Around that time training colleges more actively and explicitly embraced sports, debate clubs, reading groups, and other extracurricular activities. Beginning in the first decade of the twentieth century, university-based education departments began to replace training colleges and the pupil-teaching system was phased out in favor of mandatory secondary schooling followed by a one year trial as a “student teacher” before going on to university-based teachers’ education programs.^{xc} This transition to an even more liberal curriculum marked the culmination of a decades-long trend that had begun in training colleges. The liberal curriculum was not foreign to teachers’ training, it was not something suddenly imposed from outside by university-educated college managers who decided the time was right. Rather, it was something that had been present in teachers’ training for many decades.

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ⁱ “Chapters in College Life III. 1854-56,” *St. Mark Magazine* Vol. 1, No. 7 (1891), 175.

ⁱⁱ B.K. Hyams, “‘Culture’ for Elementary School Teachers: An Issue in the History of English Education,” *Paedagogica Historica*, 11, 1 (1981), 111-120; Marianne Larsen, *The Making and Shaping of the Victorian Teacher: A Comparative New Cultural History* (New York, 2011), chp. 7-8; Asher Tropp, *The School Teachers* (London); H.C. Dent, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales* (London, 1977), 10-16, 23-28, 38-43, 57-87; Marjorie Cruikshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London, 1970), 64-125. On the importance of the pedagogy acquired at training colleges to teachers’ professionalization, see Christina De Bellaigue, “The Development of Teaching as a Profession for Women Before 1870,” *The Historical Journal*, 44, 4 (2001), 963-988;

ⁱⁱⁱ On the emergence of the liberal curriculum in Britain, see: Helen M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998); Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *The Growth of English Education, 1348-1648: A Social and Cultural History* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990); Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (Ronceverte, WV: Hambledon Press, 1989).

^{iv} J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: University Press, 2008); Paul Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: Masculinity and the British Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); J.R. de Honey, *Tom Brown’s Universe: The Development of the Public Schools in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Quadrangle, 1977); Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Joseph A. Diorio, “The Define of History as a Tool of Moral Training,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 25, 1-2 (1985), 71-101.

^v David Labaree, *The Making of an American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939*, (New Haven, 1992); Herbert Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (New York, 2004).

^{vi} Harold Perkin has identified 1880 as a key date in the transition from a “respectable” to a “professional” society. In Perkins’ view, the hallmark of the former social culture was limited social mobility and deference based on long-standing traditions of status while the “professional” society of late-Victorian and twentieth-century Britain allowed for meritocratic social mobility and deferred to professional expertise. Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (London, 1969); idem, *The Rise of Professional Society, England Since 1880* (London, 1989). On the compromise, the classic is W.L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation* (London, 1964); Peter Mandler’s more recent work on early- and mid-Victorian England also maps out how popular pressure led aristocratic Whigs to enact an agenda

of reform that had some room for meritocracy, see his *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals, 1830-1852* (Oxford, 1990).

vii See especially David A. Coppock, "Respectability as a prerequisite of moral character: the social and occupational mobility of pupil teachers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *History of Education*, 26, 2 (1997), 165-186; Neil Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change: British Working-Class Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1991), 300-312. See also Frances Widdowson, *Going Up into the Next Class: Women and Elementary Teacher Training 1840-1914* (London, 1984); Copelman, *London's Women Teachers*, 34, chp. 6.

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ix Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London, 2005); Copelman, *London's Women Teachers*; Kliebard, *The Struggle for an American Curriculum*; Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford, 2007).

x On the Scottish tradition, see Cruickshank, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, chp. one.

xi Tropp, *The School Teachers*, 18-25; Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, 314-318; Cruickshank, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, chps. 2 and 3.

xii On the Revised Code and its reversal, see Dent, *The Training of Teachers*, 23-28; Cruickshank, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, chp. 3; Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, 98-143, 314-318.

xiii Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*), 331.

xiv The pupil teaching system and Queen's Scholarship system underwent some changes during the Victorian period. For a more detailed history, see Pamela Horn, *Education in Rural England 1800-1914* (London, 1978), chp. three; Dina Copelman, *London's Women Teachers: Gender, class, and feminism, 1870-1930* (New York, 1996), chp. six; Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, 296-312.

xv Wendy Robinson, *Pupil Teachers and their Professional Training in Pupil-Teacher Centres in England and Wales, 1870-1914* (Lewiston, 2003), chps. 2, 4, 5.

xvi "Advice to young teachers, concluded," *The Pupil Teacher* Vol. 1, No. 12 (London, 1876), 358.

xvii "Reminiscences of St. Mark's. 1865-1869," *St. Mark's Magazine*, 2 (1890), 28-31.

xviii Philip Gardner, "The 'Life-long Draught': From Learning to Teaching and Back," *History of Education*, 36, 4-5 (2007), 465-482.

^{xix} Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, 310

^{xx} James Roxburgh, *The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919* (London, 1971), 46-51. Copelman, *London's Women Teachers*, 68-78, 128-9, 148-9; *Report of the Commissioners into the State of Popular Education in England and Wales*. PP1861 [2794-VI] XXI, 149-163; *Final Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1888), 150.

^{xxi} James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education, Volume Two: From 1872 to the Present Day* (London: University of London Press, 1969), 97.

^{xxii} *Final Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1888), 80-81.

^{xxiii} On this phenomenon, see Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, 275-277; *Final Report of the Elementary Education Acts*, 114-115, 164-166.

^{xxiv} *Report of the Commissioners into the State of Popular Education in England and Wales*. PP1861 [2794-VI] XXI, 114.

^{xxv} Matthew Arnold, *Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1910), 52.

^{xxvi} Susan Thorne, "'The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable': Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain," in eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 238-262.

^{xxvii} Henry Barnard, *National Education in Europe; Being an Account of the Organization, Administration, Instruction, and Statistics of Public Schools of Different Grades in the Principal States* (Hartford, CT: Frederick Perkins, 1854), 784.

^{xxviii} *Final Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Elementary Education Acts*, 118.

^{xxix} *Report into the State of Popular Education*, 117. On Ruskin, see Sara Atwood, *Ruskin's Educational Ideals* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 117.

^{xxx} On Ruskin's ideas about education, see Sara Atwood, *Ruskin's Educational Ideals* (Farnham, Surrey, 2011).

^{xxxi} Derwent Coleridge, "The Teachers of the People; A Tract for the Time," (London: Rivingtons, 1862).

^{xxxii} *Report into the State of Popular Education*, 162.

xxxiii “List of Text Books,” Subject Examination Papers 1854-1974, Whitelands Archive (hereafter “WA”), Roehampton University.

xxxiv Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1854), 19.

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xxxvi “Physical Geography,” Subject Examination Papers 1854-1974, WA.

xxxvii “Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Mathematical and Physical Geography,” Misc. Subject Examination Papers, WA, 2.

xxxviii W. Taylor, *How to Prepare Notes of Lessons: A Manual of Instruction and Models for Pupil Teachers and Students in Training Colleges* (London: The National Society, n.d.), 73.

xxxix Frances Jordan, “Criticizing Note Book for Model Lessons,” Student Memorabilia “J,” WA.

xl *Geography of the British Colonies and Dependencies: Physical, Political, Commercial, and Historical. No. I. Europe and Asia* (London: The National Society, 1860), 14, 15,.

xli E.C. Boyles, “The History of Huntley and Palmers Biscuit Factory,” in Misc. Subject Examination Papers, WA.

xlvi Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: University Press, 2006).

xlvi Parna Sengupta, “An Object Lesson in Colonial Pedagogy,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45, 1 (January, 2003), 96.

xlvii Quoted in *ibid.*

xlv *Ibid.*, 97.

xlvi *Ibid.*

xlvii J. Wooder, “Early Impressions,” in *St. Mark’s Magazine* 1, 3 (1891), 57. The only surviving collection of *St. Mark’s Magazine* of which I am aware is in the Marjon University Archive.

xlviii James Kay-Shuttleworth, “The First Report on Battersea College,” in ed. Trygve K. Tholfson, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth on Popular Education* (New York: Teacher’s College Press, 1974), 119-120.

xlix Science and Geography Notebook, CSTC/7/9, the Margaret Forsyth Papers, Strathclyde University Archive (hereafter “SUA”).

ⁱ J.H. Fitch, "Inaugural Proceedings. The Edgehill Training College. Address on the Office and Work of a Training College," (Liverpool, 1885), 10-11. Located in the National Archives of Scotland under ED7/8/18.

^{li} See, for instance, John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. 1-3 (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1851-3), especially the introduction and Vol. 2.

^{lii} Quoted in Marjorie Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London: University of London Press, 1970), 63.

^{liii} "The Glasgow Free Church Training College Literary Society Magazine 1891," (manuscript) 124, FCTC/9/1/1, SUA.

^{liv} "Science – After the newest fashion," Autograph Book (1890-1), "Student Memories and Albums C," WA.

^{lv} On training colleges as disciplinary institutions, see Copelman, *London's Women Teachers*, ; Marianne A. Larsen, *The Making and Shaping of the Victorian Teacher: A Comparative New Culture History* (New York: 2011), chp. 7; Cruickshank, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, 99-104.

^{lvi} Henry Barnard, *National Education in Europe; Being an Account of the Organization, Administration, Instruction, and Statistics of Public Schools of Different Grades in the Principal States* (Hartford, CT: Frederick Perkins, 1854), 812; Thomas Croker and Thomas Croker Junior, *A Walk From London to Fulham* (London: William Tegg, 1860), 131-4.

^{lvii} Annual Reports of St. Mark's in Barnard, *National Education*, 805.

^{lviii} On Georgian ideas about field work and sexuality including a brief discussion of how they began to change at the end of the eighteenth century, see Robin Ganev, "Milkmaids, Ploughman, and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 16, 1 (January, 2007), 40-67. The gardening movement in American schools in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries had a similar goal, see Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "'A Better Crop of Boys and Girls': The School Gardening Movement, 1890-1920," *History of Education Quarterly*, 48, 1 (February, 2008), 58-93.

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^{lx} Library Catalogue, CSTC/6/1, SUA.

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^{lxii} Widdowson, *Going Up to the Next Class*, chp. 3.

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- lxiii John Faunthorpe, "Illicit," a manuscript autobiography in WA, 5-20.
- lxiv "Punning," *St. Mark's Magazine*, 1 (1891), 53-56; "Dryden," *The Whitelands Annual*, 1, 1, (1880), 3-9.
- lxv *The Dundas Vale Monthly*, Vol. 1, 47.
- lxvi *St. Mark's Magazine* Vol. 1, No. 5 (1891), 132.
- lxvii "Chapters in College Life III. 1854-56," *St. Mark Magazine* Vol. 1, No. 7 (1891), 175.
- lxviii John Adams, "'Tis Fifty Years Since," *The New Dominie*, 6 (March, 1928), 41. FCTC/12/6.
- lxix "The Glasgow Free Church Training College Literary Society Magazine 1891," 214-15, 216-219, 224
- lxx See for instance Larsen, *The Making and Shaping of the Victorian Teacher*, chp. 7.
- lxxi Phil Gardner, *The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian Britain* (London, 1984).
- lxxii *Ibid.*, 191-3.
- lxxiii John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (London, 1872).
- lxxiv The cabinet and windows are still at Whitelands College, which is today located in Putney. For more information these see Macolm Cole, "Whiteland College" (n.d.), manuscript history on deposit at WA; Cole was the archivist at Whitelands for many decades.
- lxxv Letter 28 January 1881, John Ruskin to John Faunthorpe, in Faunthorpe ed., *Letters from John Ruskin to John Faunthorpe* (London, n.d.), 45.
- lxxvi Quoted in Cook, *Studies in Ruskin* (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, 1890), 129.
- lxxvii *The Whitelands Annual*, 14 (1895), 31-38, WA.
- lxxviii Robert Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973).
- lxxix Student Photograph Albums, "Student Albums and Memorabilia, N-P," WA.
- lxxx *The Whitelands Annual*, 14 (1895), 31-38, WA.

^{lxxx} John Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain* (London, 1887); Malcolm Cole, "May Day," (n.d.), manuscript history of May Day at Whitelands, WA, 14-18.

^{lxxxii} Edna Healey, *Lady Unknown: The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts* (New York: Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, Inc, 1978), chp 4.

^{lxxxiii} *Ibid.*, 130.

^{lxxxiv} Letter, Charles Dickens to Angela Burdett-Coutts, 11 July 1856, in ed. Charles Osborne, *Letters of Charles Dickens to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1932), 166.

^{lxxxv} McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-class Girls in Victorian Scotland*, 60.

^{lxxxvi} Letters, Dickens to Burdett-Coutts, 5 March and 9 April 1857, in *ibid.*, 180-2.

^{lxxxvii} On Dickens' (in)famous indictments of trained teachers, see Collins, *Dickens and Education*, especially chapter seven; Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (New York, 1854), 19; Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend* (New York, 1873), 12.

^{lxxxviii} The mid-Victorian period was the heyday of rational leisure. See Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian Britain: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (New York: Routledge, 1987).

^{lxxxix} On autodidacts who eagerly pursued a wide range of knowledge, see Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). On institutionalized liberal arts education for the working and lower-middle classes, see Andrea Geddes Poole, "The Citizens of Morley College," *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (October, 2011), 842-46.

^{xc} On this new system of teacher's training, see: Peter Cunningham and Philip Gardner, *Becoming Teachers: Texts and Testimonies, 1907-1950* (London: Woburn Press, 2004).